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NOTES AND NEWS.

Our Bombay Correspondent telegraphed on Monday (Oct. 10):—"At a public meeting held here yesterday, under the presidency of Mr. Justice Ranade, a Memorial for submission to the Viceroy was adopted, protesting against the foundation of the so-called Health Institute for research by means of vivisectional experiments, which, though it is endowed by Native princes, is in its methods and principles absolutely abhorrent to the moral or religious susceptibilities of millions of her Majesty's subjects and calculated to retard the true sanitary and scientific progress of the country. The meeting further protested against the proposal, contrary to public feeling, to call the Institute after the revered name of her Majesty as a Memorial of her Jubilee. Another resolution authorised the Chairman to make similar representations to the Secretary of State for India, the House of Commons, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and H.M. the Queen."

The foregoing telegram is well worthy of the most careful attention of our readers. The "Health Institute" has been projected for some time, but the necessary funds not being forthcoming certain persons conceived the ingenious idea of raising them by means of an appeal, amounting practically to an order, to the loyalty of the Indian princes. Everybody knows that an appeal made in such a form was likely to be regarded as one which could not with safety be declined, and for this reason among others it behoves the English public to understand the meaning of the "Institute." It will no doubt be a place run on the same lines with institutes now existing throughout Europe where, under the pretext of discovering how to prevent disease by protective inoculations, disease of every kind is daily and hourly planted and reared in numberless animals. These creatures, used as hot-beds for the cultivation of virus of different kinds, will be done to death by the thousand after prolonged sufferings. The "Institute" will be a colossal torture-chamber where animals will rot away, and this because some men choose to imagine that the best means of obtaining health is by inoculating themselves with diseased animal matter.

It is hardly necessary to urge the point that both physically and morally these methods must be repugnant to the Hindus, and also to Mahometans. Englishmen ought not yet to have forgotten the incident of the greased cartridges, and should therefore have a standard by which to measure the sort of feelings this inoculation craze may call forth in India. Already we have heard of outbreaks due to the inoculation scare during the plague. Is it right in circumstances like these that the revered name of her Majesty should be connected with methods of research so utterly opposed to the moral and religious feelings of so many of her subjects? And is it right that the loyalty of Indian princes should be used as a means of raising funds for the establishment and endowment of an Institute not desired by Indians, not desired by the mass of the English people, but desired chiefly, it would seem, by a certain clique which, already ruling in some of our Government Departments, and inspiring despatches and memoranda, will find in the new organisation posts and emoluments?

It may be well to reproduce some passages from a letter which we have received from a distinguished Anglo-Indian, formerly a high official in the Government of India, in reply to a suggestion that he should write a signed article for India upon the Calcutta Municipal Bill. "I would gladly," he writes, "do anything in my power to hinder the passing of such a disastrous and reactionary measure. But what can I, or any one, do? If argument and eloquence could have the least effect, the Bill would have been snuffed out by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea's speech in Council on June 3 last. Any article that I might write would be only a feeble echo of that speech. But the speech had not the smallest effect. If you look at the division-list you will see that the Bill was supported not only by the officials (English and Native) and the mercantile members, but also by the Mahometan representative, who spoke strongly in favour of it. Sir A. Mackenzie's speech shows that the Secretary of State has fully approved the Bill, and therefore I do not think there is the least chance that Sir John Woodburn will listen to anything which can be said on the other side. If I were in Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea's place I should be tempted to move amendments doing away with the farce (as it will now be) of popular representation, and returning to the state of things which existed before 1876, when the administration was confessedly in the hands of the nominees of Government. If the elected representatives are to be mere dummies and ciphers, meeting once in three months to provide the funds for an irresponsible Executive to spend, what is gained by keeping up the form of electing them? I have some personal feeling in the matter, for I was for some years a Municipal Commissioner, not nominated by Government, but elected by the ratepayers. But I would not accept election under this Bill.

"It seems," our correspondent continues, "a curious irony of fate that Sir A. Mackenzie, as Home Secretary in 1882, should have been the medium for the publication of Lord Ripon's famous Resolution on local self-government, and now his last act as an Indian official is to strike a deadly blow at the principles which he announced and defended sixteen years ago. Is there something in the atmosphere of Lieutenant-Governorship which has turned, first, Sir Charles Elliott and then Sir A. Mackenzie from honest Liberals into reactionary autocrats?"

One of the remarks of the *Daily News* upon the appointment of Mr. Dawkins to be Finance Minister was quite curiously the reverse of the truth. "The appointment of a Finance Minister except from the Indian Civil Service is," it wrote, "a bold break from tradition, the only other instance of the kind being the nomination of Mr. James Wilson to deal with the financial crisis that followed the Mutiny." Perhaps the most satisfactory mode of exhibiting the actual facts will be to set out the names of the various Finance Ministers:—

1. Right Hon. James Wilson.
2. Samuel Laing.
3. Sir Charles E. Trevelyan.
4. Right Hon. W. N. Massey.
5. Sir Richard Temple.
6. Sir William Muir.
7. Sir John Strachey.
8. Major E. Baring.
9. Sir Auckland Colvin.
10. Sir David Barbour.
11. Sir James Westland.

Mr. James Wilson, it will be seen, was by no means the only Finance Minister who was not appointed from the Indian Civil Service. Mr. Samuel Laing, Mr. Massey, and Major Baring were not members of the Service. Sir Charles Trevelyan had been a member of one of the Indian Services, but retired as Governor of Madras. When he was appointed Finance Minister he had no connexion with India. Similarly, Sir Auckland Colvin had been an Indian civilian. But at the time of his appointment he was in the Egyptian Administration. And Sir James Westland had retired from the Indian Civil Service at the time of his appointment. The appointment of Mr. Dawkins, therefore, far from being "a bold break from tradition," is in keeping with "tradition."

The able writer of the series of articles upon "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* seems disposed to play upon the nervousness of our Russophobes. In his article of Monday last he reflects that "to many it will come as a surprise that next month the Trans-Caspian railway will run trains to the Afghan frontier within ninety-five easy miles of Herat." But why "as a surprise"? And are those miles so very easy? Russia "has reached the North-Western frontier of Afghanistan; her next objective may be the North-Western frontier of India." "Think of that, my anxious and easily perturbed readers!" the writer seems to say. The speculation will seem to cooler heads to be not merely trivial but misleading. That which only "may be," may conceivably not be. But one thing is quite certain. If Russia's next objective should be the North-West of India, then her work is cut out for her, as Col. Hanna and others have conclusively shown. As an additional incentive to nervousness, our Russophobes are reminded of the northern railway from distant Omsk. The "united resources" of Russia, north and south, in Europe and in Asia, "will thus be capable of concentration either towards China or on our Indian frontier." This "concentration" (*via* Tashkend) we are to suppose to be a mere trifle; nor are we told what would become of the "united resources" during the process. They would, we fear, be *diablement changés en route*. One of the slighter Parisian journals, distressed by *l'affaire Dreyfus* and Fashoda, suggested the other night that Russia as a faithful ally should offer a demonstration of Cossacks on the North-West frontier of India. But the co-operation of the *Times* in the enterprise is a little odd. The concluding note of gladness that the matter is now "in the hands of a statesman with a thorough knowledge of the situation" seems a little clumsy. The worst disqualification of the Viceroy designate is his perverse and ill-informed theory of frontier management. The Indian Press, such is its courtesy, has for Lord Curzon's sake been trying to forget it. The writer of "Indian affairs" rubs vinegar in the wound. But of course the chief result of the article is to remind us all once more that the game of exciting Russophobia would have less chance of success if the British taxpayer had to "stand the racket" for madcap excursions into High Asia.

The *New Age*, in its issue of yesterday (Thursday) writes:—"Last week we spoke of the necessity for wider knowledge of India among our countrymen at home. We might have also insisted on the grave danger of misinformation. Such misinformation is by no means uncommon, though no doubt it is for the most part unintentional. A markedly bad case has just been pilloried, with proper severity, by INDIA. A long paragraph appeared some weeks back in the London Correspondence of the *Scotsman*. On its coming to the knowledge of the Editor of INDIA, he quoted it sentence by sentence and exposed its mischievous inaccuracies; and Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, ex-Officiating Commissioner of Orissa, and member of the Bengal Legislative Council, addressed to the editor of the *Scotsman* a reply, which, so far as we have observed, has not yet seen the light in that journal. We do not consider any comment necessary. The episode constitutes a strong warning, and leads one to be severely distrustful of paragraphs that run down all persons and things Indian, and call for more stringent measures. Principal Fairbairn has spoken most wise and timely words, and we trust they will have the effect of setting people at home to give more attention to the current facts of Indian government and administration."

In an article on "Agriculture in India" the *Pioneer* continues to play the part it has so often assumed lately of a candid friend of the Indian Government. In fact it only needs an attentive reading of that journal, which we are loth to call disloyal or seditious, to see that British rule in India has not the perfection attributed to it by its eulogists in this country. The *Pioneer* speaks of "young civilians pitchforked into charge of a district with absolutely no experience except what they have picked up in the ceaseless mill of case work." Again, agriculture, on which 172 million Indians depend for their livelihood, is "one of a dozen subjects made over to the care of an official." At every turn we meet some of the characteristic effects of our government in India—responsible work given to young officials, older men overwhelmed with office routine and the everlasting preparation of statistics, and the financial difficulty dominating everything. Another fault, the ignorance and contempt of Indian methods, also comes under the notice of the *Pioneer*: "It is not suggested that Native methods are perfect everywhere, but with all their faults they can teach us much." The remedy proposed is the appointment of one good man to look after agriculture alone. But the good men will want good pay, and money is scarce. The *Pioneer* thinks the improvement in agriculture will repay this, but perhaps it has more faith in the beneficial effect of Government action than the Government itself has.

In INDIA for April 8 we gave an account of the strange case of the Khots, village holders in a certain district to the North of Bombay, who found that the village assessments for which they were responsible were raised, while no corresponding revision of the cultivators' rents was made. As a result the assessment often exceeded the sum of the rents and the Khot had to supply the deficiency from his private resources. The petition of the Khots praying for the removal of this flagrant injustice was dated February, 1893. It was acknowledged in January, 1895. And such is the speed with which the wheels of government work in India that permission, we learn from the *Mahratta*, has at last been granted to the Hon. D. A. Khare in September, 1898, to bring in a Bill on the subject.

The Indian papers comment strongly on the injustice of making the tax-payers bear the cost of the proposed Viceregal tour in Burma. The Viceroy is about to leave India. Therefore the knowledge gained by the visit cannot be turned to the advantage of the Province. There will thus be no public benefit. Why, then, should the public pay?

Public interest in the suicide of the priest Hayagrivâchârya, because his house was disinfected by men of a low caste, has been increased by the efforts of Mr. Cappel, the collector, to stop the Dharwad Municipal Commissioners from enquiring into the matter, and by his refusal to produce the letter which the priest is believed to have written, but on the authenticity of which Mr. Cappel throws doubt. It is, however, satisfactory to learn from the *Mahratta* that he admits the necessity of taking the religious feelings of the people into consideration, and declares that he would have employed men of a higher caste if the objection had been made at the proper time. But this of course is after the event.

The evidence accumulates that illicit coining in India is on the increase, and that what the opponents of the closing of the mints foretold has now come to pass. The Inspector-General of Police in Bengal in his Annual Report, after referring to the import of a thousand tons of silver in the year, affirms that, owing to the rupee having been forced up to a fictitious value, it is possible to manufacture rupees worth 16d. each from silver of the value of 11d. Many false rupees in circulation were so well made that they would have remained undiscovered had not base metal been used. If one may judge from this remark of the Inspector-General, it seems probable that those made of good metal pass unchallenged. With these views may be contrasted the evidence of Mr. O'Conor, Director-General of Statistics, before the Currency Commission, to the effect that there was no evidence of illicit coining other than had existed from time immemorial, and that if such coining did take place it would be at once discovered.

According to the *Indian Medical Record*, two Anglo-Indian nurses, competent, skilful and attentive, were employed a few months ago in the Manicktollah Plague Hospital at Rs. 120 a month and free quarters in the hospital. Then two ladies from England appeared "with passports from the Secretary of State for India," who are put in the place of the others, who receive Rs. 300 a month, who refuse to occupy the hospital quarters and are therefore provided with rooms in the best hotel in Calcutta, and who, though still on the "employed list," are sent to the Hills for the summer. Our contemporary continues:—

The Municipal Exchequer of Calcutta has to pay them Rs. 300 a month for doing nothing, and there will probably be a contingent bill for other necessary and unavoidable expenses, which the Municipal Council must pay without a murmur and without question, for under the Plague or Infectious Diseases Act, the President of the Plague

Commission—Financier Risley—may order any extravagance he pleases without reference to the Municipality, and that august body must simply grin and bear his behests. This is *government* with a vengeance.

If the facts be as stated, what has Lord George Hamilton to say?

It has often been our painful duty to speak of brutal assaults by Europeans on Indians. It is with all the greater pleasure that we now refer to an act that has evoked a deep feeling of gratitude and admiration. Colonel Carter, who commands the Wiltshire Regiment, recently found a Hindu lying helpless on the roadside, and here is the account, which the Hindu gives in a letter to the *Tribune*, of what then occurred:—

Alighting from his horse he came to me, and in soft encouraging tones asked me who I was and why I was lying there. I answered that my destination was 16 miles beyond Ziarat, but as I was incapable of moving I must lie here all night, and that this was my *kismat*. The Sahib then enquired if I would like going to Ziarat, about 3½ miles from the spot, on his horse. I of course declined; he was so great a man and I so humble, how could I think of sitting on the back of his charger? But tears came to my eyes at the thought of such condescension and kindness to me, a poor *baniya*, lying helplessly ill by myself hundreds of miles away from home. I said, on the Sahib insisting, that I would not put him to any inconvenience for my sake. But he, with father-like gruff-tenderness, commanded me to obey him, put me on the horse and walked slowly, holding the reins. We reached Ziarat at 8 at night. The Sahib and his noble lady invited me to pass the night in the shelter of their bungalow. May the Almighty make the noble-hearted Colonel who saved my life the Lát of the Maharani's army! I am told that by writing to you I can make his life-saving act known to my Hindu countrymen in the Punjab, and therefore do so. I day and night pray for blessings of Heaven on my benefactor.

It is only when we see the gratitude such a deed evokes in that gentle and kindly people that we can measure the pain inflicted on them by insult and brutality.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* reiterates its statement that Mr. Brewin saw Mr. Tilak on September 3 and made two proposals to him as conditions of his release: (1) that he would take part in no demonstration on the occasion of his release, and (2) that "the Government would have the right of putting him in gaol without trial for the remitted term of imprisonment if he wrote or spoke sedition in future." Mr. Tilak agreed to the former, but of course rejected the latter condition, which is then said to have been revised in the sense that "if Mr. Tilak ever committed sedition, and if he were found guilty by a regular trial, he would be awarded proper punishment." Mr. Tilak is reported to have accepted this grotesquely superfluous "condition." Thus an act of royal clemency, which would have filled India with gratitude, seems to have been marred not only by needless and prolonged delay, but also by the imposition of a condition so ridiculous that a magistrate's clerk would lose his appointment if he were silly enough to frame it.

The *Pioneer* is somewhat annoyed with a young Englishman, Mr. Johnston, a Bengal civilian, who, retiring after a very brief career, is said to have expressed himself as follows: "In India the English hold the Natives for pride. None of the wiser heads among them believe they are doing any real good. They have lost all genuine faith in their mission. The natives of India are reduced to serfdom, all the more enthralling that it is so skilfully organised. But there is a smouldering madness eating at their weak hearts." Mr. Johnston overstates the case. But we wonder how many Indian civilians do seriously believe in England's "mission" in India? Does Sir Alexander Mackenzie show his belief in it in withdrawing from the citizens of Calcutta the power they have exercised so long and so well in their own concerns?

The other day a body of traders invited the attention of the Viceroy designate to the importance of further railway extension in India. Lord Curzon replied that he was aware of the importance of such extension in the interests of the manufacturers of this country. We comment upon the matter elsewhere. The interests which are too often ignored in such cases are those of the people of India. We borrow million after million in this country; extend State railways, or guarantee profits on private undertakings in order to help English trade; extend the frontiers of India to China in order to give further facilities to English manufacturers; make the people of India pay for all this; and then solemnly repeat that we are ruling India for the good of the Indian people.

Mr. Augier, a sub-deputy magistrate, has been convicted and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment for taking out a young Brahman girl from a "coolie depôt" for immoral purposes. Labourers recruited for the plantations under a special law are kept in such depôts, and when once they have signed a contract they cannnot leave the plantations for a period of years. The law has been rightly characterised as a "slave law" in India, and in connexion with it frequent cases have occurred of kidnapping and seduction. Why is this law not abolished; and why are not tea-planters left to recruit labourers as other employers do? The answer appears to be that the tea-planting "interest" can influence the Indian Government and override the interests of the public.

How the new law of sedition is likely to be worked in India may perhaps be gathered from a case which has lately occurred in Kurseong, in Darjeeling District. One Manee Chetri was charged with having given currency to a rumour that there would be a war between Nepal and British India. On hearing this rumour some Nepales labourers working under an English tea-planter were alleged to have left work and run away. For this reason an English magistrate, Mr. Heron, sentenced the unfortunate Chetri to nine months' rigorous imprisonment. The case is now before the High Court, and we refrain from comment. The Court has released the prisoner on bail, and issued a rule directing the Magistrate to show cause why the conviction should not be set aside.

A large public meeting has been held at Lahore to express the grief of the people of the Punjab at the death of Sirdar Dayal Singh Majeethia. Rájá Harbans Singh and the Hon. Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Kazilbash, the heads of the Hindu and the Mahometan communities of the Province, convened the meeting, which an eye-witness thus describes in the *Tribune*:—

The spacious quadrangle of the historic Baoli Sahib was filled with the cream of the Hindu, Sikh, and Mussulman population of Lahore when proceedings commenced. We saw in the gathering all the noblemen and gentlemen of note in town, without exception. There has never been seen in this city such a foregathering of the members of the aristocracy, the leaders of Young Punjab, the members of the learned professions, the representatives of trade and commerce, in short, men of all classes, creeds, and shades of opinion, as on this melancholy occasion. And each individual, from the greatest to the lowest, seemed to realise that the loss that the Province had suffered was literally irreparable.

The chair was taken by Rájá Harbans Singh, and the following resolutions were passed:—

That this meeting of the citizens of Lahore desires to express its sense of profound grief at the untimely death of Sirdar Dayal Singh Majeethia, whose philanthropy, patriotism, public spirit and independence were a great example to his countrymen, and in whom the Punjab has sustained an irreparable loss.

That a copy of the above resolution be communicated to the members of the late Sirdar's family with an expression of condolence in their bereavement. Also that it be communicated to the Press.

Moulvie Muharram Ali Chishti, Babu Jogendra Chandra Basu, M.A., Khan Bahadur Barkat Ali Khan, Rai Bahadur Bhai Milan Singh, Lala Rucairam Sahni, M.A., Moulvie Mahbab Alam, Nawab Gulam Mahbab Sobhani, Bhai Basant Singh, Babu Durga Pershad, and Moulvie Fazal Din were among the speakers. Hindus and Mahometans joined hands to do honour to the deceased patriot, one of the foremost supporters of the Indian National Congress throughout his eventful life. As Moulvie Maharram Ali Chishti said, his death is a grievous loss to India, "grievous alike to Hindus and Mussalmans." It is reported that he has left a sum of ten lakhs of rupees for the founding of a college to be conducted on theistic principles.

How much gratitude is evoked in India by a little sympathy and goodwill on the part of administrators is illustrated by an incident connected with the Borah Plague Hospital in Calcutta. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal delivered a speech in Hindustani conceived in so kindly a spirit that the Marwaris of Calcutta, according to a correspondent of the *Englishman*,

made a rush towards him in order to bless him. They were loud in their expressions of gratitude to the honoured head of the Bengal Government for his sympathetic attitude during the plague scare. They said in plain terms that they regarded His Honour not as a foreign ruler but as Divinity incarnate who figured conspicuously in their daily prayers. His Honour looked rather overpowered by kindly feeling when I translated the thing to him. Such an incident should be given the widest publicity, in that it affords the strongest proof of the deep affection with which Sir John Woodburn is regarded by the people.

THE TIRAH CAMPAIGN.[1]

THOSE who love tales of war and adventure, of difficulties surmounted and hardships bravely endured, will find in this book an ample satisfaction. To the serious student of war it will afford new light on a campaign carried on amid unusual circumstances well fitted to try the mettle of both the general and his troops. But it is perhaps for those who are concerned with the politics of the Indian frontier and our relations with the wild tribes beyond our borders that the book, in spite of the disclaimers of the author, will have the greatest and most permanent interest. It is, indeed, impossible to read of the heroic deeds on one side and the other alike without a stirring of the blood, nor is that feeling of pride in human valour and human endurance lessened even by the remembrance of the wanton provocation that led to the Afridi outbreak and the hopelessness of the Afridi resistance. The dead soldiers who lie in those inhospitable valleys were guiltless of any policy of aggression, and the tribesmen who fell fighting for their independence were but following in the footsteps of the heroes of many another race who in that sacred cause staked their all for freedom.

From some quarters we always hear much of the inferiority of the Indian to the European. We doubt if that is the view of the English soldiers who charged with the Goorkhas at Dargai, or stood shoulder to shoulder with the Sikhs in the Bara Valley. In the rush across the open when the heights of Dargai were first stormed, it was the Goorkhas that led the way, and when two days later the position was retaken by the splendid charge of the Gordons, an officer of the 3rd Goorkhas and his Indian orderly were the first on the ridge. The advanced guard, when the army passed through the defile of Dwatoi, was composed almost entirely of Indians, and in the struggle in the Bara Valley on December 13, of which Colonel Hutchinson says, "rarely have troops been engaged in severer fighting," it was the Sikhs and the Goorkhas who bore the brunt. In fact of the total force engaged by far the greater part were Indians. Officials from England dictated the policy of which this war was a result. It was the part of the Indians to supply two-thirds of the troops and to bear all the expenses.

Nor is it just to despise the vanquished. Colonel Hutchinson is perhaps hardly fair to the Afridis. He allows that they are splendid fighters on their own ground, not brave only, but patient, prudent, and with no lack of intelligence; but he speaks of them as treacherous savages. Sixteen years of unbroken faith is hardly the mark of treachery. Some of them have served in our ranks on many a hard-fought field, and when in August of last year they were attacked by their own tribesmen and abandoned by us, they fought and died at their posts. Is this the record of traitors? They turned against us when, and only when, they thought their freedom was in peril; and to fight for the independence of one's country is usually called by another name than treachery.

And that this was the real reason for the war Colonel Hutchinson leaves no longer doubtful. The Colonel is no agitator, trying to twist his facts to suit his party. On the contrary, he is a man steeped in all the traditions of military honour and duty, the steadfast defender of Sir William Lockhart, and the loyal servant of the Indian Government. He begins with professions of impartiality—renouncing all claim to sit in judgment on policies or statesmen. But he is unable to shut his eyes to patent facts; and all the more for his qualities and his position does his testimony condemn the policy of aggression and adventure of which this war was the direct outcome. The first twenty pages of his book contain a most damaging indictment of the forward policy, of which the fatal results are written wide in blood.

Near three hundred lie dead among the mountains, and thrice as many have suffered in our hospitals, some to suffer all their lives. Yet Colonel Hutchinson declares that for this just and necessary war every one of any ten intelligent men will give you a different reason—that is, of any ten Anglo-Indians; for the Colonel finds no difficulty in discovering the Afridis' reason—the main cause of their outbreak after a fidelity of sixteen years. He brushes aside all the talk of Moslem fanaticism and Turkish intrigue, nor does he count the rising "unprovoked"; for he finds the real *teterrima causa belli* in the encroachments on their territory, the inevitable result of the forward policy beyond the Indian frontier. This is shown alike in the Afridis' petition to the Amír, which begins, "The British Government has been from olden times gradually encroaching upon our country, and even upon Afghan territory, and has erected forts at various points within our borders"; in the captured correspondence of the Mullahs where the English were spoken of as "forcibly encroaching" on the Afridi limits; and in their pleasure at finding their country was not to be annexed. "They know by this time that we do not mean to annex their country. That, no doubt, has been their great and haunting fear. Other considerations are of secondary importance to them."

Colonel Hutchinson unravels the whole story. Under his guidance we recall the agreement of Sir Mortimer Durand with the Amír in 1893 for a delimitation of territory, and its results.

> We may explain to them as much as we like, and protest as loudly as we can, but when they see the long line of boundary pillars going up; when they are told that henceforth all inside that line practically belongs to the British *Raj*, and that from this time their allegiance must be to us; and when, finally, they note our surveyors at work, mapping their country and measuring their fields, their reflection is, "Methinks you do protest too much!" And they are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that their country is annexed and their independence gone; a conclusion which it is not easy to dispel when we follow on with military posts on their borders, or in their midst. . . .

Then there was the outbreak at Wano in 1894 against the delimitation commission. Then, in 1895, came the invasion of Chitral. "But," as the Colonel says, "we stayed in Chitral; we built a fort there; we made a good road to it from India, and placed it in the keeping of tribal levies in our pay; and we established strong posts on the Malakand and Chakdara." Yet we are told by the official apologists of the "forward" school that all this had no effect on the Afridis. To quote Colonel Hutchinson again:

> We on our side have always repudiated any idea of advance or annexation, or of interference with tribal customs or independence; but circumstances have often been in the past, and will be no doubt in the future, too strong for us. We find it necessary to push forward military posts, to make roads to them, to raise tribal levies, to establish police arrangements, to interfere in tribal quarrels, and so forth; and however judiciously these steps may be taken, however they may be forced upon us, by whatever name we may describe them, the result is the same; we advance, we absorb, we dominate, we destroy independence, and we practically assume the administrative control of the country occupied.

And then we are surprised that the Afridis fly to arms against us, even with such an object-lesson before them as Chitral.

This war, concerning the origin of which there was so much doubt among the English, and so much certainty among the Afridis, was a war of no ordinary kind. Death in battle is the risk which the soldier expects to run; but here that risk formed but a very small part of the horrors of the campaign. Through these narrow defiles wound our army, often wading up to the knees in freezing water, with no object save to reach some valley and place on it the seal of our presence in ruined homesteads and wasted fields, and then retreat as painfully as we came. The night brought no rest; for hours an unseen enemy would fire into the camp, trying the nerves even of those who were stoutest in battle. The troops had to bivouac in the open, not daring to light a fire for fear of the enemy's shots, and thankful if the rations had arrived and hunger was not added to their other miseries. Then came the inevitable retreat, the emboldened enemy attacking the covering parties as they were withdrawn from either side, till at last the rearguard had to make a stand, soon encumbered with their wounded, and happy if those who had gone before returned in time to save them from destruction.

But if the sufferings of the soldiers have been great, so have been the difficulties which those in authority have had to surmount. Sir William Lockhart said: "We must remember that we are opposed to perhaps the best skirmishers and the best natural shots in the world, and that the country they inhabit is the most difficult on the face of the globe." Over this country we had to transport sick and wounded, baggage, and food for man and beast. It took 12,000 mules and ponies to supply for seven days a single division of the army, which in that time marched barely forty miles. Yet there are some who would throw away this splendid natural defence of so great a part of

[1] "The Campaign in Tirah, 1897-1898." By Colonel H. D. Hutchinson. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1898.

our frontier, and rush forward to meet the Russians on the Oxus, hundreds of miles nearer their own base. If it takes 12,000 beasts of burden to carry seven days' supplies for a small army on a march of forty miles, what incalculable number would be needed to support a Russian force starting from the Oxus, and large enough to threaten the safety of India? We have only to respect the independence of these wild tribes, and we have a self-acting barrier against all invaders. Even if the material difficulties could be overcome, in what state would a Russian army emerging from these passes be to encounter the fresh troops of England and India? The whole campaign is the most decisive condemnation of the "forward" policy. But it is India, guiltless India, that has to bear the burden of this stupendous folly, this public crime.

THE INDIAN RAILWAYS.

THINGS do move, after all, even in the depths of Indian bureaucracy. It was January 21 this year before we were able to discuss the Administration Report on the Railways in India for 1896-97—about ten months after the end of the official year. We have already received the Report for 1897-98—about six months after the end of the official year; and on August 5—about two months ago—we were able, thanks to the *Economist*, which had the good fortune to be among the few of our contemporaries to receive an advance copy, to present Mr. Martin Wood's careful summary of the outstanding facts. Here, then, is a marked improvement, and we trust it will be maintained, and even bettered. There is another point. On January 21 this year, commenting upon the preceding Report, we wrote:

> Year after year many important Indian Government books are reprinted over here for presentation to Parliament. They are exact copies, word for word, of the Indian books; they are printed often after considerable delay, and always at great cost, for the sole benefit of people in England; and yet India has to pay the printer's bill. Two considerations suggest themselves to the ordinary unofficially minded man. One is that as India does not want these Blue-books—having the originals in India—she ought not to be expected to pay for them. The other is that it would surely be more economical and more reasonable if the Stationery Office in India printed a sufficiently large edition of the documents to be presented to Parliament, and forwarded them to England ready for distribution. The magic "Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty" could be imprinted upon each copy by the office boy, or, if necessary, special covers and fly-leaves for the English edition might be designed and produced in London. But, in any case, there would be an immense saving of labour and money, and—what is by no means unimportant—Parliament and the public here would get the necessary information at the earliest possible date.

We hardly dared to expect that a Government department would do such a sensible thing. Yet it has actually been done. The Indian copies of this year's Report have been brought over and put into new English jackets. Good. We can only complain now that it takes a couple of months to fit them out.

Lord Curzon, we observe, was requested the other day by the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce to receive a deputation from Lancashire "to urge the desirability of railway extension in India." His lordship, however, being overwhelmed with engagements, begged to be excused, at the same time assuring his Blackburn friends that he "fully appreciates the importance of the subject to Lancashire commerce." We are not aware that Lord Curzon has ever confided to the public his opinions on Indian railway extension. Yet it seems very likely that they will not prove to be materially divergent from the views of his official chief, Lord George Hamilton, who, we know, is strenuously supported from the other side of the House by Sir Henry Fowler; or, rather, to be strictly accurate, we should say that Lord George is following out with alacrity the policy of his predecessor. Lord Curzon in the circumstances is rather unlikely to take the bit in his teeth and run away from the set policy of both Front Benches. The Blackburn people may therefore be easy in their minds. There is a different point of view, however; not by any means an unimportant view either—the view of the people of India. Nobody disputes that the railway system of India is in a sense an extremely valuable "asset"; and nobody disputes the general proposition that it is wisdom to invest money in reproductive works. But the question forces itself forward: Can the country afford a policy of indefinite extension by the methods which have been employed in India? To put millions a year into railways is not in the same category with putting millions into warlike adventures beyond the frontier. Yet there is a fallacy in the blessed word "reproductive." Railways are, of course, technically "reproductive" works. But the unfortunate thing is that in practice they do not always reproduce enough to cover capital outlay and interest. They ought to pay their way, but—except in official panegyrics—that is just where they sometimes fail. We are not going into the details at present, but it is proper to note that the actual official summary shows a "total loss to the State from railway outlay since 1858-59" to the extent of no less than Rx. 57,058,045, and that, but for the "show" undertaking, the East Indian Railway (from 1872-73) the total would be larger by Rx. 15,431,169. In fact there is not a single year that presents a balance on the right side. The "reproductiveness" must, therefore, lie in anticipation. Obviously, then, it is the part of wisdom before further extension of the same type to wait for a recovery of the finances, especially as famine and even "strategical" lines, as well as lines for ordinary commercial purposes, have now been amply provided for the actual necessities of the country. The answer to the railway mania is conclusive: India cannot at present afford it.

If Lord Curzon be really the independent man his admirers say he is, he will look beyond the jejune and imaginative ideas which Lord George Hamilton has taken over from Sir Henry Fowler, and examine the subject intelligently for himself. He will find much more solid ground for the sole of his foot in the Indian evidence laid before the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure, especially in the representations of Mr. D. E. Wacha and Professor G. K. Gokhale. Professor Gokhale offered two suggestions that appear to us to be eminently worthy of serious consideration. The first is this:—

> That the time has now come when the same restrictions that now exist on the outlay of public money on unproductive public works should be imposed in the case of these so-called productive works also; these restrictions being that in future all Government expenditure on these works should be out of surplus revenue only, and not out of borrowed money.

"When one remembers," added Professor Gokhale, "that the condition of Indian finance is at present most depressed, that all really important lines have been already constructed, and that many most pressing needs of the country—such as education—receive no attention from the Government, on the ground of the poverty of its exchequer, one cannot help thinking bitterly of this reckless profusion of Government in the matter of railway construction, especially as the Indian people feel that this construction is undertaken principally in the interests of English commercial and moneyed classes, and that it assists in the further exploitation of our resources." This opinion, widely entertained as it undoubtedly is by the Indian people, is worth the consideration of the commercial and industrial classes in Lancashire. The other point may be cited together with the comment:—

> The second suggestion is that the Guaranteed Railways should be taken over by Government at the first opportunity in each case, without exception. The waiver of the right to take over the E I.P Railway twenty years ago was very unfortunate. Apart from the loss entailed by the high guarantee, by the unfair manner of calculating the surplus profits, and by their calculation six monthly, instead of yearly, there is another very deplorable loss which the Indian Exchequer must bear in the matter of these Guaranteed Railways. The shares of these companies are at a high premium, and that is due in a great measure to the Government guaranteeing a high rate of interest. The premium thus is to a considerable extent only artificial, and yet Government must pay it when it has to take over these railways.

To these views must also be added a reminder of the important suggestion advanced by Mr. Martin Wood, to which we have already (INDIA, June 24, 1898, p. 386) called attention. Mr. Wood points out that the really pressing necessity is for lines of a different kind from those now in operation—"lines of simpler and lighter construction" to penetrate to "the India of the villages, in which dwell three-fourths of all the producers in the great peninsula." He is careful, however, to make the point that "this as yet untouched field of railway enterprise will have to be developed from within, as far as possible through local traders' influence and funds." True, it "might be aided by European capital," but the important thing is that it should rely all but wholly on local effort. If European capital is not tempted over much by the regulation lines, still less will it be tempted by local light railways; and this will be all the better for the real development of the country, which has hitherto depended

far too exclusively upon foreign exploitation. Lord Curzon would do well to think over this suggestion. It carries within it, some of us think, the seeds of an incalculable expansion of the living resources of the country. It is useful, as distinguished from ambitious, work. The official ideas run upon the doing of excellent work, no doubt, but it is sometimes on the wrong plan, and at the wrong time, and under the wrong conditions. Will Lord Curzon dare to be useful?

INDIAN FINANCE: A RETROSPECT AND A WARNING.

By an English Onlooker.

I.—The Retrospect.

When the century now approaching its close comes to be reviewed, the year 1858 will stand out as one of its most prominent landmarks. For it was then that the vast continent of India, hitherto governed, immediately at least, by the directors of a great corporation engaged in opening up its resources for the advantage of the members, came under the direct superintendence of a department of Government and a Secretary of State. Much had, indeed, been accomplished even before that date by the operation of the younger Pitt's India Bill of 1784. That measure, of course, created the old Board of Control, in which there sat a Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But practically all administrative business and the bulk of patronage remained with the officers of the company.

In 1858 all was changed. The government of India was transferred entirely from the company to the Crown. The chairman of the directors gives place to a specially appointed Secretary of State; the Board of Control is succeeded by a Council of fifteen members.

These familiar facts are called to mind because they have a bearing upon the question of Indian finance. Before the transfer, financial control rested with the directors, and, subject to their guidance, with the Court of Proprietors. But the control was by no means exclusive. Though the political students of those days could look forward to no "Indian Budget night," each renewal of the Charter originally granted to the Company was preceded by a Parliamentary enquiry of a protracted character. This great difference, however, exists between those days and our own. In the thirties and forties Indian finance was not in practice made the arena for party conflicts. If fiscal questions were not decided with reference solely to the happiness and prosperity of the millions in India, but in some measure to the pockets of proprietors, at any rate there was not, as there is now, a danger lest the real issues might be confused by party passion and party prejudice. So great an authority as Henry Fawcett said that upon the transfer to the Crown in 1858 many safeguards for economy were removed, while no substitutes were provided. Instead of this, new obscurities were introduced into the problem. The Duke of Argyll, when promoting a measure intended to make tenure of office by a member of Council temporary instead of permanent, maintained that on the correct construction of the principal Act the Secretary of State had absolute power in financial matters. And he was supported in this contention by two Ex-Chancellors. Lord Salisbury and Lord Cairns did, indeed, maintain that the Council might by a bare majority vote over-rule the wishes of the Secretary, but the debate shows at the very least that there was a dangerous ambiguity in the language of the Act. Nor is the sequel without significance. Although it was probably meant that the financial control previously exercised by the Directors and the Court of Proprietors should vest in the Council of the Secretary at home, and of the Viceroy in Calcutta, the very men who upheld this construction were responsible for a policy which ultimately involved the expenditure of some millions of public money without the consent of either Council having been obtained.

Before the gigantic experiment in imperial socialism inaugurated by the transfer had been sanctioned, there had always been some directors of the company with seats in Parliament ready to defend the interests of the people in India. After the transfer had been effected, it became more or less a matter of chance whether this protection could be afforded. From that day to this it is no exaggeration to say that successive administrations have perpetrated blunder after blunder in their management of Indian resources, and by pursuing a mad policy of military aggression have gone far permanently to paralyse the finances of the country. The inevitable consequence was foreseen when the late Lord Iddesleigh was Secretary for India, and it was predicted to him by Lord Lawrence, Sir Henry Maine, Lord Sandhurst, and many others that the "forward" policy spelt ruin for our Asiatic empire. It is high time for the English democracy to show that if Tory Secretaries and Tory Viceroys persist in squandering the resources of a country already impoverished, and exasperated by an accumulation of evils to the last degree, there exists a force which is strong enough to check them—the upright sense of the nation.

When the Calcutta Budget of 1879-80 was introduced, it appeared that the real revenue of India was less than forty millions sterling. And this sum, which is arrived at by deducting the cost of government from the sum total of receipts, was, be it remembered, stationary, whereas the expenditure, like J. S. Mill's trees, was "aye growing." Another thing was growing, and that was the indebtedness of the Indian Government. The policy of retrenchment and economy had been condemned, and constant borrowing had become the normal condition of Indian finance.

There were then, it is conceded, special causes of distress in India. There was the Afghan war. The cost of this undertaking was chiefly defrayed out of Indian revenues, and with the most disastrous results. Section 55 of the principal Act had provided that when the Indian army is employed for imperial purposes beyond the frontier of India, the cost shall be borne by England, and when for Indian purposes, the cost shall be borne by India. Upon the occasion in question the amount contributed by India entirely absorbed the Famine Fund, itself the product of an odious and onerous tax, which had been called into existence to relieve the necessities of a starving and stricken people.

In the second place, India had to face at that time an increasing loss by exchange due to the depreciation in the value of silver. This is a perennial source of perplexity to Indian financiers. They have to deal with a country using a monometallic silver standard, but under the continual necessity of making payments in gold. The discovery of the Nevada mines has enormously increased the supply of silver, while concurrent causes have considerably diminished the demand for it. The result of this, of course, is that while the nominal amount of India's indebtedness may remain the same, its real amount must be largely augmented. The exchanges have set against her, as the stars set against Sisera.

A specious appearance of wealth is often produced by the figures in Indian statements of account by heaping together all the items of receipt indiscriminately in one column, regardless of the fact that the larger number of the items of receipt are more than balanced by the expenditure necessary to procure them. Such items represent in reality not receipt, but outlay. If we can put down a bare half-million to represent gain on the exchange with London, we must sober ourselves by placing in an opposite column at least two millions to represent the loss consequent on exchange.

Whatever stability Indian finance possesses rests in the last resort upon the land revenues. The pyramid whose apex tapers into "miscellaneous receipts" rests upon the broad basis of rents paid to the Government by the cultivating classes. They were wise in their day, those *Economistes* with Quesnay at their head, who preached the doctrines of *produit net* and *impôt unique*. The wealth of a country is in the long run measurable by the fertility of its soil, and so in India we find that those items of receipt, which are real items of receipt and not matters of outlay masquerading as such, constitute forty-five per cent. of the entire revenue of the Continent. Moreover, the cost of collection and the other charges requisite to bring the land revenues into the Treasury, are equivalent to only about one-tenth of their amount. It is therefore somewhat alarming to find that the various home charges have grown so steadily that the net land revenue and the net home charges almost counterbalance one another. Coupled with this, one must take the fact that the rents are paid in a silver currency, and that the great depreciation of silver relatively to gold has seriously lessened the

real value of the revenue attributable to this source. The sums payable as interest to Indian fundholders in England in the purchase of stores, in salaries, and in pensions, has to be rendered in gold. It needs no skilled pen to point the moral of this state of affairs.

Two other causes of the present discontent are discoverable in the past. One is the cost of public works; the other the periodical recurrence of famines. Instead of relieving against the disease and destitution engendered by famine, we have overburdened the country with taxes falling solely on the poorest classes, or have raised relief funds merely to see them swallowed up by wars. In 1880 an income-tax of fivepence in the pound was imposed on incomes of not more than four shillings a week! And still the terrible problem faces us. India is still scourged by sword and pestilence. Our warriors gain glory, and our civilians achieve pensions, *at tu, victrix provincia, ploras!*

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

THERE is no doubt whatever as to what topic has mainly occupied public attention during the week. It is the Blue-book which appeared on Sunday night containing despatches and reports of interviews between the Governments of Great Britain and France with regard to Fashoda. I doubt if ever before a Blue-book told so clear, connected, and interesting a tale. As a rule such publications are a weariness to the flesh. They are involved in style, abounding in diplomatic verbiage, and have often given me the impression that the great, wise and eminent men who produce them resent having to let the public into their confidence, and in revenge make themselves unintelligible. But this Fashoda Blue-book is not open to any such criticism. For once Lord Salisbury was able to tell the public a tale of which he has no reason to be ashamed, and he was determined to let them have it as early as possible, and in a form convenient for newspaper reproduction and for quotation on the platform.

I have from the first held that the French were in the wrong in trying to occupy Fashoda, but before proceeding to comment further on the curious history which this Blue-book reveals, I should like to protest against the insolent tone some English papers have seen fit to adopt with regard to France. The French people are touchy and proud, and just at present they have many internal troubles to exasperate them. Indeed I doubt if Paris has been in such a seething and dangerous state at any time since the establishment of the Republic as it is at present. Almost anything is possible. The Dreyfus scandal, a cloud as small as a man's hand at first, long ago became a great national problem, and is now an international and European danger. Then labour troubles are beginning to assert themselves, and there are extensive strikes in Paris. We know what huge strikes and locks-out are in this country, with their ghastly results in misery and poverty, and a burning sense of injustice. But bad as our labour and trade disputes are the men never show any desire to upset the existing form of Government. In France you have no such security. Barricades in the streets of Paris may spring up as the consequence of some dispute about wages or hours of work, and when once the mob is roused, nobody, least of all the mob itself, knows what the end may be. And of course with things in this desperate and dangerous state, the enemies of the Republic are watching their opportunity. Dark hints about the possibility of a *coup d'etat* are appearing in the papers. I believe that the safety of the Republic lies chiefly in the fact that there is no great man, no commanding personality among its enemies. A Napoleon I, nay, I believe a Napoleon III, would make a dash for supreme power if he were alive. But France, however discontented she may be, is not going to be exploited by a mountebank.

I have been led into what may to some appear to be a digression, because I think the state of feeling in Paris has a very direct bearing on the attitude of the French Government with regard to Fashoda. What is the true history of Major Marchand's mission to that place I don't know, and I doubt if anyone ever will know. But seeing that he is there and that we have protested against his presence, it is clear that a French Government, even if it thinks itself in the wrong, must be careful how it appears to surrender. Moreover, we have declined all through any notion of compromise. At the very beginning, Lord Salisbury has adopted the language of Sir Edward Grey in 1895, and both the Foreign Secretary and our Ambassador in Paris have stated that the matter is not one for discussion at all. Indeed, Sir E. Monson reports more than once that he stopped just short of menace in his conversations with M. Declassé. There is something intensely interesting, almost pathetic, in the descriptions of how the French Minister paused sometimes for several minutes before replying to the peremptory remarks of our Ambassador. It seems to me to be a case of a high-minded man recognising that he is in a false position, but hesitating to say so, not only because any such avowal is always distasteful, but because as a patriotic Frenchman he must know that a false step means the wreck of the Government, and the wreck of a Government may mean much just now.

So it becomes obvious as one reads the Blue-book that the Frenchman is playing for time, while our Foreign Office, strong in what it believes to be the justice of its position, presses for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Marchand. And now a new element is introduced, for the Sirdar's despatches about what he saw and did at Fashoda, after Omdurman, are brought into the narrative. M. Declassé had been somewhat pooh-poohing Marchand. He was only "an emissary of civilisation" with no real power or rights, said the French Minister. There was no "Marchand mission" in reality, he added. But when the Sirdar reached Fashoda he found the French traveller had hoisted the flag of his country, and said he had done so and had taken possession of the place acting under direct orders from his own Government. That being so, Marchand naturally declined to lower the flag except when ordered to do so from Paris. The Sirdar protested both in writing and orally, and asked Marchand if he proposed to use force to prevent the hoisting of the Egyptian flag. Of course that was out of the question, and so, ludicrously enough, the two flags were left flying, and the Sirdar came away. Moreover, Sir H. Kitchener said that the French traveller was in a sorry plight, with but few supplies, without followers, and that nothing could have saved him from annihilation had our army been a fortnight later in crushing the Khalifa. It was this knowledge, do doubt, which suggested to Lord Salisbury the cutting description, "a French explorer in difficulties," a way of putting it which will be appreciated in Paris, where a telling phrase strikes home at once.

And how has the matter ended, the reader may ask. Well, at the time of writing it cannot be said to have ended at all. Marchand seems to have sent some report to his Government. It is wandering along by some devious route through Abyssinia, and no one can tell when it will arrive. Yet the French Government claims that in common decency it must be allowed to see that report before issuing any orders. Our Government has therefore been requested to help a message through *via* Khartûm, in which Marchand will be instructed to send one of his officers to Cairo at once with a copy of the report, and this is being done. It is not wise to prophecy, but I imagine that when that report is received the French Government will be only too glad to find in it some excuse for withdrawing this troublesome emissary of civilisation from his untenable position. Already some of the French papers have referred very contemptuously to the place as inaccessible as the moon, and of not the slightest value to France. "We can retain our honour without retaining Fashoda," says the able and generally temperate *Matin*. Of course some other papers have adopted a more angry tone and have lectured us for insolence, and accused us of making a great fuss over Fashoda in order to divert attention from our reverses in China. Well, it is certain that just at present it must be vastly more pleasant for a supporter of Lord Salisbury to talk about Fashoda than about Pekin. And I confess it is anything but edifying to witness some of our papers whose tone is one eternal shriek, lecturing the French Press for not keeping cool. It is assuredly not for some of the London papers to throw the first stone.

Some see in all this an explanation of the fact that the Kaiser has suddenly curtailed his trip to the East. Originally he meant to visit Palestine, Syria, and Egypt; but he has now cut out Egypt, fearing, it is said, to be away from Germany too long in such troublesome times. However that may be, his trip to Palestine alone will be

an enormous affair. The Empress goes with him, and some notion of the extent of his suite may be gathered from the fact that between 8,000 and 10,000 mules and horses will be needed to convey his baggage. Then there will be an escort of 1,000 Turkish troops. For once one may almost pity the Sultan, for the expense of entertaining this self-invited visitor is ruinous. The Turkish officials will only receive three months' pay this year, and many of them are nearly bankrupt. The troops very seldom do get paid except when they mutiny, so the difference in their case will not be very great. Poor Abdul only the other day—so the story runs—had to borrow £200,000 from the Ottoman Bank to buy presents for the ladies in attendance on the Empress! It may be that a feeling of confidence that the Kaiser will stand by him is encouraging the Sultan to stand out against the settlement of the Cretan question, and I notice that now Italy has withdrawn from the fatuous Concert. Crete never is, but always to be, pacified.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, October 6.—M. Liotard, the Governor of Upper Ubangi, arrived in Paris, and was welcomed at the railway station by Prince Roland Bonaparte, M. de Brazza, and others. In acknowledging the greeting, he said in 1890 he was directed by M. de Brazza to occupy the territories to which they had access by Upper Ubangi, and to make of them a French region with an opening on the Nile. In 1894 M. Delcassé entrusted to him the same mission, with more extensive powers; and they had since been following up this work, the result of which was the presence on the Nile of the Marchand expedition. He proceeded to refer to Fashoda as the port of Bahr el Ghazal, destined to connect the new French colony with the Mediterranean by the Nile and Egypt. France, he said, had too much at stake in Central Africa to leave it to other Powers to watch over the liberty and security of commerce. The absolute lack of means of communication between Brazzaville and the first post of Upper Ubangi was the real danger which it was urgent to face at the risk of asking the mother country for fresh sacrifices.—A Reuter despatch from Paris said that the French Government was ready to negotiate at once on the question of the evacuation of Fashoda, and M. Delcassé, the Foreign Minister, was prepared to approach the subject in a most conciliatory spirit; but the Government would on no consideration whatever agree to treat the evacuation as a condition precedent of negotiation.

FRIDAY, October 7.—The ratepayers of St. Pancras, by 8,278 to 4,849 votes—a majority of 3,429—negatived for the second time a proposal to adopt the Public Libraries Act, 1892.

It was announced that the Sirdar of the Egyptian army would be presented with the freedom of the City at the Guildhall on November 4, about 2,000 guests having been invited. In the evening the Lord Mayor will give a State banquet at the Mansion House in honour of Sir H. Kitchener.

The Paris *Débats* had an article on the Fashoda question, accusing the *Times* of "doing everything to prevent a solution desirable for both parties," and contending that M. Hanatoux, in his speech in the Chamber in reply to Sir Edward Grey's declaration, expressly reserved freedom of action for France.

In the Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, on Thursday, there were some strong references to the speech of the German Emperor at Oeynhausen, announcing a Bill to punish with penal servitude those who incited their fellow-workmen to strike. One speaker said they would have the souls of dogs if they did not reply to this attempt to brand every workman who encouraged striking as a gaol-bird. "Down with the Monarchical idea," was the feeling which now inspired the whole of the German working classes.—The Berlin *Post* had an article on the references in certain English journals to the possibility of a general alliance between Great Britain and Germany, which were characterised as mere delusions and falsehoods.

SATURDAY, October 8.—Important despatches on the question of Fashoda were issued from the Foreign Office. The chief points were that the British Government claimed Fashoda by right of conquest (a different line from Sir Edward Grey's), while the French Government, to gain time, was communicating with M. Marchand.

The Paris Municipal Council to-day adopted a proposal to name a street "Fashoda"—a step which was described as an application of popular pressure on the Cabinet to prevent the evacuation of Fashoda. Some of the Paris journals alleged that a note had been addressed by the Minister of the Interior to the commanders of *gendarmerie* throughout France, directing that if the Duke of Orleans should attempt to re-enter France he should immediately be arrested.

The Sultan sent Tewfik Pasha on Friday evening to inform the Ambassadors of the four Powers of his consent to withdraw the Turkish troops from Crete, provided a small garrison, suitably quartered, remained to symbolise his sovereignty. The Ambassadors severally replied that, their Note being collective, its terms were unalterable. The impression at St. Petersburg was said to be that Turkey had made up her mind to lose Crete, having more serious contingencies against which to prepare herself. It was reported from Constantinople that the Turkish army was to be increased by about 150,000 men.

The Tsung-li-Yamên entered a protest against the excessive number of the Russian escort which arrived in Pekin on Friday, declaring that M. Pavloff promised to bring only the same number of troops as the other Powers. Edicts were now issued bearing the name of the Empress-Dowager. Lord C. Beresford and the Marquis Ito exchanged visits at Shanghai.

Mr. Dillon, M.P., was the chief speaker at a meeting held in Glasgow under the auspices of the Irish National League of Great Britain, and urged that the one way of securing the liberty of Ireland was to bring about the reunion of the Irish Nationalist party.

MONDAY, October 10.—The more important Paris journals reserved their judgment on the Fashoda papers published by the British Government till the full text was before them. The *Liberté* declared that Marchand could neither be disavowed nor recalled, but serious negotiations could begin as soon as his report reached the French Foreign Office. The *Matin* said that France would probably not risk a war with Great Britain for the nominal sovereignty of territories at an immense distance from her possessions on the Atlantic.—A Yellow Book on the question was to be presented to the Chambers at the opening of the Session.

It was reported from Candia that, as the term limited by the ultimatum for the Sultan's reply approached, there was a great panic in the town, the inhabitants fearing a bombardment if the Sultan refused to withdraw his troops. A collision between the British and Turkish troops seemed inevitable if the Porte refused to evacuate, as the Admiral was determined to enforce his orders, and the Turkish soldiery, though wishful to leave, must remain and fight unless they received the Sultan's express orders. Against the British force of 4,200 men, with ten guns and eight Maxims, there were 4,500 Turkish regulars, with artillery and a large number of Bashi-Bazouks. A battalion of the Lancashire Fusiliers was expected to arrive at Candia to-morrow.—Djevad Pasha had left Crete for Beirut, having been recalled by the Sultan to accompany the Emperor William to Jerusalem. His recall was thought to be of good omen.

The Pekin correspondent of the *Times* said that to-day the manager of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and the Director of Railways signed the final contract for a 5 per cent. sterling loan of £2,250,000 for the continuation of the northern railway to Niu-chwang and Hsi-mingting. The total length of the new line was to be 260 miles. The security was to be a Government guarantee, and a charge on the railway, already open, from Pekin to Shan-hai-kwan. The contract complied with the conditions imposed by M. Pavloff. A final contract was also signed for a valuable coal-mining concession near the proposed railway, north of the Great Wall.

TUESDAY, October 11.—At to-day's Cabinet Council in Paris the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed his colleagues of the negotiations on the Fashoda question since the last Council. It was decided that a Yellow Book on the subject should be issued as soon as possible, and that if it was ready before the meeting of the Chambers, it should be delivered to the members at their own houses.—The *Matin* this morning published a note from the Havas Agency, pointing out that the aims of France and Great Britain on the Upper Nile constituted an old question, going back much further than the speech of Sir E. Grey, and urging that the arrival of the French and English on the Upper Nile did not represent two conflicting and mutually exclusive policies, but rather two important interests of a political and commercial character, which should be carefully defined by an understanding.—The comments of the French papers on the situation as disclosed in the British despatches were generally moderate in tone, but there was a general agreement that the demand for Major Marchand's recall before negotiations were entered upon was inadmissible.

From Constantinople it was reported that the reply of the Porte to the Collective Note was presented on Monday night. The Sultan consented to evacuate Crete, and orders had already been given and measures taken for the withdrawal; but the Sultan would hold three fortified places with garrisons sufficient to protect the Mahometans and defend the flag. The Note reiterated the Sultan's consent to the autonomy proposed by the Powers.—The 2nd Battalion of the Lancashire Fusiliers arrived at Candia from Egypt.

In the Cape Assembly a motion of want of confidence in the Government was carried by 39 to 37 votes.

WEDNESDAY, October 12.—Lord Rosebery, speaking at Epsom, said that he was largely responsible for the Government on which the policy in connexion with Fashoda was founded, and was personally and Ministerially responsible for the declaration made on behalf of the Government by Sir Edward Grey in March, 1895. There were considerations in connexion with the question which made it one of extreme and supreme gravity.

In face of a deliberate warning that a particular act would be considered by the British Government to be an "unfriendly act," that act has been deliberately committed. No British Government which attempted to recede or to falter with the policy laid down by the late Liberal Government in this matter would last a week. There were, however, reassuring elements in the case, especially the conciliatory spirit exhibited by M. Delcassé.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

The British Committee of the Indian National Congress has made its preliminary arrangements for public meetings on Indian questions during the season 1898-99.

The Committee has engaged the large hall of the Westminster Town Hall for a public meeting on Wednesday evening, October 26, when Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., will preside, and the chief speakers will be Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee and Mr. W. A. Chambers, editor of the *Bombay Champion*. The Westminster Liberal Association will, on this occasion, co-operate with the British Committee. Further particulars will be announced next week.

A meeting, which Mr. W. A. Chambers will address, will be held in Hackney on October 18, at the Hackney Working Men's Club.

Arrangements are also being made for meetings in Brixton, Ealing, and elsewhere.

On Tuesday, October 18, it may be mentioned here, a meeting of the Women's National Liberal Association (Croydon Branch) will be held at Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee's house, "Kidderpore," Bedford Park, Croydon, when Mr. Bonnerjee will speak on the question: "To whom is the Government of India responsible?"

During the forthcoming season, as last season, the National Reform Union, which has some hundreds of branches in various parts of the country, has kindly consented to co-operate with the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. That is to say, the British Committee will continue to supply INDIA and other publications to a selected number of the National Reform Union's lecturers and speakers who include India in their list of subjects, and whose fees and expenses in connexion with meetings relating to India are defrayed by the British Committee.

A series of meetings in Lancashire, on November 14, 15, 16, and 17, will be addressed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and a further series is in course of arrangement.

One of the lecturers on behalf of the British Committee wrote, under date September 26:—"Invitations for lectures on India are coming in fast. Those I have booked are as follows:—

"Sept. 28. Bideford Women's Liberal Association.—'The Industrial Condition of the Indian People.'
" 29. Morthoe Women's Liberal Association.—'The Industrial Condition of the Indian People.'
" 30. Princetown Liberal Association.—'The Forward Policy in India.'
Oct. 11. Honiton Women's Liberal Association.—'The Forward Policy in India.'
" 14. Mr. Stead's Office, Mowbray House, Strand.—'The Forward Policy in India.'
" 16. Leeds Labour Church.—'The Industrial Condition of the Indian People.'
" 17. Ardwick Literary Society.—'The Industrial Condition of the Indian People.'
" 25. Dr. MacLaren's Literary Society, Manchester.—'The Industrial Condition of the Indian People.'"

An account of the work done by and on behalf of the British Committee in the matter of public meetings on Indian questions during last season (1897-98) will shortly be published in INDIA.

It is stated that yet another contingent of Indian sepoys is to be sent to Africa. In this case the number of men required is small; the British South Africa Company having asked for 40 Sikhs to form the nucleus of a police force in their territories north of the Zambesi. Two British officers and one hospital assistant will accompany the party, with a due proportion of camp followers. The contingent will be raised in the usual way by calling for volunteers from Sikh regiments.

MR. W. A. CHAMBERS "INTERVIEWED."

The following account of an interview, signed "N. T.," appeared in the *Morning Leader* of Tuesday last (October 11):—

I have just had an interesting conversation with Mr. W. A. Chambers, the editor of that fearless and vigorous journal, the *Bombay Champion*, which among its many services to good government in India, played an important part recently in securing the release of the Natu brothers from prison. Mr. Chambers, who is a North-country Englishman, went out to India in 1890 as a civil engineer. He is now paying a brief visit to the old country. Mr. Chambers has large business dealings with Indians, with whom he is daily in close contact, and the esteem in which he is held by them may be judged from the fact that he has three times been elected a delegate to the Indian National Congress, and is, I believe, the only European in India who has been elected by the ratepayers, in a contested election, a member of an Indian municipality—Bandora, a suburb of Bombay.

THE PRESS IN INDIA.

"The Indians," Mr. Chambers said, "complain very bitterly of the way in which they are traduced by the Anglo-Indian Press. It is not too much to say that there are only two journals of the Anglo-Indian class which seem able to write fairly about educated India."

"And those are——"

"The *Statesman*, of Calcutta, and the *Advocate of India*, of Bombay. All the rest, to speak plainly, simply cannot write justly where a 'native' with political aspirations is concerned. Englishmen at home have no notion of the habitual unfairness to which Indians are subjected in this way, nor of the bitterness which it provokes among a naturally sensitive people. To give you but one example. There is a Bombay morning paper which must needs dismiss any important meeting of Indians as a 'meeting composed of students.'"

"And what useful functions," I asked, "does the Anglo-Indian Press fulfil?"

"Ah! that is the point. Truth to tell there is little or no need for an Anglo-Indian Press. It is superfluous. The Government does not need its advocacy, and the Anglo-Indian community in India has precious little to complain of. Hence it happens that writers in the Anglo-Indian Press, if they wish to be interesting to their readers, have to 'go for the native,' and this they do in a fashion that would rejoice the heart of the bitterest partisan who ever took part in a contested election. On the other hand, it seems obvious that an Indian journalist must have much that is important to describe—much that is of use to the authorities. Of the two, therefore, the Indian and the Anglo-Indian Press, it seems reasonable to think that the former is the more necessary. Indeed, the Anglo-Indian journalist, by reason of his partisan spirit, is a distinct danger to the peace of the country. A philanthropic despot might be inclined to deport most of the Anglo-Indian Pressmen. Neighbourliness would then have a chance of prevailing in India."

THE NEW LAW OF SEDITION.

"The new law of sedition," Mr. Chambers said, "is simply too absurd to be put into operation. But it has frightened all the smaller journals in India, and it is an insult and annoyance to every Indian writer. It is to be hoped that the British public now realises the frightful series of mistakes which the Government of India committed in the Poona business. Almost every step taken by the authorities in their panic has had to be retraced. Unfortunately the new law of sedition—the outcome of that panic—remains."

"And the Natus—they are not yet released in the strict sense?"

"No, the freedom of the unfortunate Natus is still restricted. In India, as perhaps you know, the Natu case is compared to L'Affaire Dreyfus, and it is not, or ought not to be, a pleasant thing for an Englishman to know that at the present time two men, innocent of any crime, are to all intents and purposes prisoners because, if you please, certain officials are afraid of owning up to a serious error of judgment."

THE QUEEN'S STATUE—AN ALLEGORY.

Then Mr. Chambers went on to tell me of the skilful Hindu who has just succeeded in removing the tar stains from the Queen's statue at Bombay. The story is true. But it is also a most instructive allegory.

"The English public," Mr. Chambers said, "ought to be told that the Queen's statue in Bombay, which was disfigured some two years ago by a fanatic, has lately been cleaned by a Hindu professor of science. I refer to Prof. T. K. Gajjar, of Baroda, where he was, or is, head of a Polytechnic institute, which was promoted and is supported by the Native State of Baroda. Prof. Gajjar, I may add, belongs to the class from whom so many of the Congress men are drawn. The Government of India, with all its resources, was completely baffled in the attempt to get rid of the stains from the marble. But this 'native,' a member of the class often held up here to public odium, has succeeded after three months of patient work, and the statue of her Majesty is once more fit to be seen. This

success on the part of an educated Indian should be known far and wide. If we are to believe men like Lord George Hamilton, the 'educated native' is the evil product of British rule. An incident like this shows what the educated Indian can do. Consider the meaning of it. The ignorant fanatic disfigures the statue of the Queen; the educated Indian restores it to its original beauty. There is an allegory and a lesson here. It needs little statesmanship to see which class the Government of India should trust and lean upon. Yet Lord G. Hamilton appears to regret that education is spreading in India."

THE CHANCE FOR THE FUTURE.

"And the future, Mr. Chambers?"

"The one thing that seems plain is that it is idle to expect political generosity from the Anglo-Indian classes. The same kind of people here are known as inhabitants of villadom, and their thoughts (if any) are reactionary. The only hope, therefore, for India is to get her case sympathetically stated to the British people—in a word, to bring the British voter into the controversy."

And that is what Mr. Chambers and others are bent upon doing.

INDIA IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

INDIA'S "MORAL AND MATERIAL" PROGRESS.

It has been out of our power to notice earlier the annual statement devoted to this self-glorying subject by the Government of India. Not much has been lost by the delay. The story is of the usual smoothly written character, and always strikes us as a rather favourable example of the dry-as-dust faculty of the Indian bureaucrat. Were a person absolutely unacquainted with India to pick up this large mass of printed matter and read, say, the account of the famine and plague, which, as the narrator says, materially affected the prosperity and progress of India in 1896-97, he would be in no danger of having his feelings deeply harrowed. Statistics in plenty are placed before him, but absolutely without life, and, in fact, the impression left on the mind of the reader is that both famine and plague were matters of no very dreadful import. Rather do they give opportunity for the display of the relief-organising talents of the bureaucracy than exhibit the rapidity with which starvation overtakes enormous masses of human beings in India when the rainfall is short. We are told that about sixty-five million four hundred thousand people were affected by the failure of the crops, and that the suffering was most severe in the North-West Provinces, in Oudh, and in the Central Provinces, where the harvest had been short for two previous years. So intense was the distress, that at one time four million two hundred and twenty-four thousand of the population were in receipt of relief. Three million one hundred and fifteen thousand of the people were relief workers or dependents, and one million one hundred and eight thousand were receiving gratuitous charity. At the end of July, during the rainy season, gratuitous relief had to be given to one million six hundred thousand people, including the dependents of relief workers. Does this last statement mean to convey the fact that the payment to those who laboured was insufficient to enable them to provide for themselves and their families?

Perhaps the most striking thing about the story is the fact that there was really no absolute world scarcity of food. Thanks to the railways and to the ready communication between India and all parts of the world by steam, plenty of food could have been and was poured into India; and had more prompt measures been taken to bring maize even from New York to Calcutta, it seems probable that prices would never have risen for that grain as they did in Northern India. The compiler of this annual survey states that in March, 1897, maize could probably have been put down in Calcutta at about 30 lbs. per rupee, and at that very time it was being quoted in the markets of the Punjab and the North-West Provinces at 16 lb. to 18 lb. per rupee. Was it owing to the railways and their charges that this great difference in price existed, or were the authorities remiss in ordering in a sufficient supply of grain? We need not ask for light upon questions like these in a State paper of this description. But it is a significant fact that the prosperity of the railways in the famine year was very little affected. From this we infer that even those lines under the control of the Government charged good paying rates for the grain they carried into the famine districts, and upheld their dividends at the expense of the starving people. This is only one way of showing how very prosperous India is—how well it can provide to the capitalist compensation for misfortune. Food might have been cheap and abundant pretty well all over India in the famine years, but somehow it was neither the one nor the other. But the strenuous bureaucrat did his best—a noble best, too, it was, in many instances—we freely admit, and he got neither cross nor peerage for it. But then he only saved life. Slayers alone are worthy of "honours."

In regard to the cost of the famine some interesting figures are supplied, although we should scarcely accept them as complete until they have been revised through the next two or three budget exercises of Indian finance ministers. It is, however, estimated now that the deficiency in food grains caused by the drought during 1896-97 was 920,000,000 rupees. What justification there is for this estimate we do not know, but it may be pointed out that food grains are not the only crops that suffered by the drought. Grass, root crops, and vegetables of every description were equally blasted, and any genuine effort to ascertain what the Indian people really suffered by the visitation ought to include the loss of such crops and of stock all over the country. What we get instead is a fancy statistical compilation of this description:—

> The cost of the famine to India cannot be fully estimated until we see how quickly or how slowly the several stricken Provinces recover themselves. It took from ten to fifteen years before the worst districts of Southern India recovered their full population and their full area of cultivated land after the famine of 1877. A careful estimate has, however, been formed of a part of the loss caused by the drought in the North-West Provinces; the local Government estimates the deficiency in food grains alone, valued at normal prices, to have been Rx. 34½ millions. The relief numbers in the North-West Provinces were three-eighths of the whole numbers for British India. According to this proportion the deficiency of food grains caused by the drought to British India during 1896-97 was Rx. 92,000,000. The non-food crop area is 21 per cent. of the food crop area, and therefore the money loss caused by the drought to food crops and other crops might be stated approximately at about Rx. 111,000,000. This is at best a rough estimate.

"Rough!" We should just think it was, but, parodying Lord Randolph Churchill, it is probably "good enough for the lot at home." It will have to be gone over many times, though, before we reach the truth, if ever. The whole truth, probably, can never be revealed, whether as regards the loss to the people or to the revenues of India. On this latter point a table is inserted in the text of the story, which shows us that 70,470,000 rupees were actually spent on the relief of distress; that other actual outlay and loss of revenue due to famine came to 60,540,000 rupees; that 18,500,000 rupees of land revenue was "suspended"; and that 13,700,000 rupees represented loans and advances in the famine districts. It is significantly added that much of the "suspended" land revenue may be hereafter collected. Adding the charitable funds, contributed mostly by the United Kingdom, but also by the United States, the colonies, and foreign countries, as well as by natives of India, the total cost of the famine is put at 192,300,000 rupees, and the ultimate or permanent loss to the Indian Treasury is put up at not less than 140,000,000 rupees. We should say this is a very conservative estimate indeed, and quite likely to be considerably extended when the accounts are finally closed.

Into the plague and its causes and consequences we shall not at present enter. But noting the intention expressed by the Indian Government, not only in this State paper, but elsewhere, to recover as soon as possible all arrears of revenue, we should like to draw attention once again to the remarkable statistics regarding the rapidity with which property in land is passing out of the hands of the small owner and cultivator in many parts of India. The figures on this branch of Indian Government are found under the heading "Registration." We shall recite a few of them, prefacing the explanation given in the book before us. According to this the law makes compulsory the registration of all non-testamentary documents affecting immovable property—*i.e.*, land and houses—of the value of ten rupees and upwards, registration of other documents being optional. That is to say, every mortgage on real estate, as we call it, amounting to ten rupees or more must be registered. This gives us the key to much. In Bengal, in 1896-97, the number of such documents registered amounted to 1,312,153, and of this number nearly 87 per cent. related to documents on real estate. The number of registered transfers of holding by rayats (tenants) paying at fixed rates, or enjoying occupancy right, rose from 195,203 in 1895-96, to 226,071 in the succeeding year. 26,051 of these transfers were in favour of money-lenders. The average price of occupancy holdings was equal to fourteen years' purchase of the rent. Bengal was not directly within the famine area.

Turning to the North-West Provinces we find that the number of mortgages registered showed an increase of 11 per cent., as compared with the total of 1895-96. The number of leases increased 6 per cent., and of land sales 15 per cent. In regard to the Punjab, there is nothing particularly remarkable to be told except this extract from the report before us. "The total number of documents registered increased 35 per cent., and the increased business following after a previous year of increase is attributed to the pressure on the landed classes, caused by the partial failure of the crop, and to the growing tendency to reduce all contracts to writing, and to secure them by registration." In the Central Provinces there was an increase of 4 per cent. in the number of documents registered, and a decrease of 10 per cent. in the value of the property dealt with. In Madras the number of documents showed a decrease of 2¼ per cent. in 1896-97 compared with 1895-96, and 5½ per cent. as compared with 1892-93. The decrease was chiefly in documents registration of which is optional, and was partly accounted for by the bad season in those districts and partly by the adoption of a new plan by the local money-lenders of advancing money on notes of hand written on one-anna stamped paper and unregistered. Nearly 95 per cent. of all the registrations in

Madras concern real estate, and 68 per cent. of the deeds represented compulsory transfer. Bombay showed no change to speak of from the previous year, the number of registrations having decreased only 2 per cent. Eighty-six per cent. of them represented compulsory transfers of property, but the decrease was in these alone.

Now what we desire to point out with reference to these figures is that they disclose a process of impoverishment going on amongst the land owners and tenant farmers, if we may use the term, of India—especially among the smaller of such. In time this steady impoverishment must have a disastrous consequence upon the rent and tax-paying power of the people, if no remedy be applied. The process is simplicity itself, and the Government by its plan of holding the rayats responsible for the payment of arrears accumulated during years of distress, deliberately throws them into the hands of the money-lenders, by whom they are ousted from their holdings. Every year, all over India, the dispossession of this agricultural people is going on at an accelerated pace. The poor rayat is doubly in debt. He probably borrowed from the local money-lender to live, or to pay part of his taxes, during time of distress, or to escape the ignominy of relief works and public doles, and that debt is now upon his back in addition to the debt due to the Government for "arrears" of rent. Both creditors are perfectly without heart or conscience. The bureaucracy of India works like a corn-grinding machine in its relations with the rayat, "on without hurry, on without stop." So many rupees have fallen behind in his rent this year; he will be asked for these rupees next year, and if he cannot then pay all, the amount unpaid will be carried on to succeeding years, plus the usual freshly-accrued rent exacted as before. To escape from the Government he probably increases his debt to the village usurer, and the end of his story is ejectment from his holding, and one more family added to the great masses of the landless and homeless now crowding into many of the Indian cities, to distill sedition there and engender plagues. Is it prudence that dictates this method of treating the Native? We cannot think so. The Government which neglects to protect its subjects against the preying exactions of the local usurer, which, instead of protecting the people, places them in the hands of these usurers by giving creditors every facility for recovering their debts, no matter how blood-drawing and unjust, in a court of law, is not doing its duty by those under its sway, to say the very least of it. If the pressure of Imperial rule drives the Government of India to be thus ruthless in collecting arrears of revenue which have accumulated in years of dearth wholly without the people's fault, surely it might at least strive to do as much as Russia does for its peasants, and provide the unhappy people with facilities to enable them to borrow at rates of interest which would not ruin them. Could not the Government destroy the power of the local money-lender by establishing local land banks which would advance small sums at moderate rates of interest, repayable by easy instalments, so as to enable the impoverished rayats to tide over hard times without the prospect of having to face ejectment from home and holding just when hope of better days should be springing up anew? We think it could do this and much more were it bent on ruling India for India's good, instead of for rupees, and place, and "honours," or by dead and death-dealing routine.—*The Investors' Review.*

APPOINTMENT OF A PLAGUE COMMISSION.

The Earl of Onslow, Under-Secretary for India, in the course of a speech at the opening of a "Constitutional Club" at Woking on Friday last (October 7), said he was grieved to say the plague in India was increasing rather than diminishing in virulence this year, chiefly in the Bombay Presidency. The Government had just decided to appoint a commission, not in any way reflecting on the plague administration hitherto adopted, with a view to obtaining a trustworthy scientific opinion as to the manner in which the disease was communicated, the causes of the outbreaks in different parts of India, and the circumstances influencing their growth and decline. It would consist of a president and two scientific experts from this country, and one or two civil officers of large Indian experience. In addition to the subjects mentioned, it would enquire into the effects of the various systems of curative and preventive inoculation, which had been in use during the last two years.

The *Pioneer Mail*, of September 23, writes:—We hear by this mail from England that the Secretary of State has been in communication with the Government of India regarding the formation of a Plague Commission, which would include among its members medical experts of the highest reputation. As plague has been making headway in the Bombay Presidency for several months past, and as the disease is reviving in Bombay city itself, there is ample material upon which a commission could work. Its members could examine critically the various methods which have been employed to combat the disease; the success or failure of these; the causes which had led to sudden outbreaks of a most virulent character; the sporadic nature of plague in some quarters and its strong epidemic form in others. There is a mass of evidence to be examined and collected, not only in Bombay and Lower Sind, but elsewhere; and a carefully constituted commission would command the confidence of the public. Their recommendations as to the course hereafter to be followed, if plague does not die out, might be of the highest value, particularly as an impression has got abroad that no consistent policy has hitherto been followed, each local government having taken its own line.

ET CAETERA.

It is announced from University College, London, that a course of fifteen lectures, on "The History, Civilisation, Religion, and Literature of the Ancient Hindus," will be delivered by Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E. (late Officiating Commissioner of Orissa, and sometime Member of the Legislative Council of Bengal), on Wednesdays and Fridays, from 5.30 to 6.30 p.m., beginning Wednesday, October 26, 1898. Tickets may be obtained from the secretary, University College, Gower Street, W.C. It is proposed to deal with Mahometan rule in India during the second term, and with British rule in India during the third term of the session.

Among those upon whom the degree of B.A. was conferred at Oxford on Monday last was Mr. Jotindra C. Gupta (University College).

The P. and O. s.s. "Egypt" is due in London, from Bombay, on October 16. Her passenger-list includes the following names:—Mr. Paul Mende, M. de Harinatti, Mr. B. N. Cama, Mr. C. N. Cama, Mr. V. R. Ghandi, Lieutenant-Colonel H. Wood, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. F. S. Allen, Mr. B. C. Pall, Dr. S. Nariman, General and Mrs. R. A. Cole, Mr. M. Nariman, Mr. B. Cursetjee, Mrs. Cooverjee, Mr. R. Mukerji, and Colonel Martin.

The "Egypt" leaves London for the return voyage on October 27, with the following among other passengers:—The Hon. Ali Ameer, Mr. R. R. Toyebee, Mr. and Mrs. D. Wedderburn, H.H. the Rajah Padukata, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee and Miss Bonnerjee, Mr. H. Ketchlee, Sheik Aotaf Mohammed, and Mr. C. Peddie.

The British India Steam Navigation Company's s.s. "Matiana" leaves London on October 14 with the following passengers:—Mrs. French, infant and maid (for Madras); and Mr. F. H. Wilson, Mrs. Stables, Miss Appleyard, Miss Weir, and Mr. and Mrs. Weir (for Calcutta).

The s.s. "Manora" (B. I. S. N. Co.) leaves London on October 28 with the following passengers:—Mrs. Rhodes James and two children, Mr. C. Murray, Mr. J. Sutherland, and Mrs. Newbold and child (for Madras); and Miss A. M. Parker, Rev. J. H. Hacker, Mrs. Hacker and two children, Mrs. A. Nicolson, Mrs. Spiers, Mr. G. T. Edwards, and Mrs. Mabey and infant (for Calcutta).

When the last mail left India, Sir James Lyall was engaged at Simla in revising the draft report of the Famine Commission, which had been submitted to him as President for approval.

It is announced that the reduction of the force in the Tochi Valley by one infantry regiment is to be permanent. The 20th Madras Infantry, who march back to India this month, will not be replaced.

Lord Warkworth appears to be following closely in the steps of the new Viceroy of India. His recent travels in Asia Minor, which are to result in a published record of his impressions on Eastern politics, naturally suggest Lord Curzon's methods. He is only twenty-seven, has a seat in the House of Commons, is next heir but one to the Dukedom of Northumberland, and has two "Firsts" and a Newdigate to the credit of his Oxford career. With a start like this he should indeed go far. Lord Warkworth is the youngest of a group of young lords who "lived laborious days" at an age when most of their class are supposed to be taking life less vigorously.

Among those who intend to be present at the dinner to be given to-morrow in honour of Sir Anthony P. MacDonnell, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, are Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir W. MacCormac, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, Sir Thomas Moffett, Sir W. W. Hunter, Sir David Barbour, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, M.P., Sir Raymond West, Sir John Edge, Q.C., late Chief Justice of the North-West Provinces, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., Mr. Alderman Baines, C.S.I., and Mr. Oliver S. Stack, late Deputy-Inspector-General, Bengal Police.

An Etonian dinner will take place at the Café Monico, Piccadilly Circus, on October 28, to celebrate the appointments of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the Earl of Minto, and the Rev. J. E. C. Welldon, as Viceroy of India, Governor-General of Canada, and Bishop of Calcutta respectively. The Earl of Rosebery will preside. The arrangements are in the hands of a committee consisting of the Marquis of Lansdowne, Mr. Walter Durnford, the Hon. Alfred Lytletton, M.P., Mr. St. John Brodrick, M.P., and Mr. Gerald Loder, M.P., hon. secretary.

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